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# MILITANT AMERICAN JOURNALISM

*The fight of*  
**THE NEW YORK HERALD**  
*against the*  
**\$5,000,000,000 BONUS RAID**  
*directed personally by*  
**FRANK A. MUNSEY**

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# EDITORIALS



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FRANK A. MUNSEY

## FOREWORD



IN THIS wide country with its population of 110,000,000, there must be many persons who do not know that FRANK A. MUNSEY alone owns and personally directs *The New York Herald* of today; do not know what he has done and is doing with *The New York Herald*; do not know how greatly and strikingly the new *Herald* differs from the old *Herald*, and why.

While Mr. Munsey was conducting *The Sun* vigorously and fearlessly, building it up rapidly but solidly, he bought *The New York Herald* from the James Gordon Bennett estate two and a half years ago and, with one of his amazing strokes of achievement, merged these two morning newspapers, thereafter called *The New York Herald*, while the *Evening Sun* became *The Sun*.

This booklet is offered without his knowledge as partial testimony of some of the things he is doing with *The New York Herald*, and the way he is doing them. It is offered without his permission or knowledge, and while he is across the seas, because the writer has no doubt that if Mr. Munsey did know of this purpose he would not consent to its execution.

After a very near acquaintance with him of more than a third of a century and an intimate association with him in newspaper making of more than a decade, I hesitate to speak of his great newspaper work in great public causes in a personal manner he would not, if he knew of the fact, approve. I am unwilling to refrain, however, from speaking some small part of the truth that is the due of the public to know, whatever his own reluctance to be thrust into the foreground of so important a chapter in the history of militant American journalism, militant for service to the public, militant for principle and for the right.

Frank A. Munsey personally and immediately directed the campaign which his newspapers successfully waged against the international programme to put this country into the League of Nations. At the time of and after the League of Nations contest, he would not permit any of his publications to make



mention of his leading part in that momentous campaign. In his absence abroad the writer of this article takes advantage of the opportunity to state the plain facts of that battle, crucial in the existence of the Republic. It is not essential to the purpose of this article to go further now into that stirring episode in our national life. It does, however, seem to the writer fitting to enter here these facts in the record.

This booklet contains in particular a few chapters of the great American story of Mr. Munsey's splendid uphill fight, through *The New York Herald*, against the Fordney-McCumber scheme of a bonus raid on the National Treasury to the tune of five billions of dollars.

It is the writer's belief that, with the single exception of the President himself, Mr. Munsey has done more effective work in the fight against the bonus raid than any other individual in the country. It is the writer's conviction, based on a close knowledge of all the circumstances, that if *The New York Herald*, under the leadership and direction of its owner, had not gone to the forefront of this fight against the bonus, there would have been no real fight at all.

Truth to tell, there was no effective opposition anywhere to the bonus raid on the Treasury until *The Herald* began to fight. Until then nobody thought of opposing it seriously. Nobody thought it could be opposed successfully. Everybody took it for granted that the bonus bill was bound to go through Congress and become law. It was generally accepted as a foregone conclusion. The writer of this article is of the conviction, again based on close knowledge of all the circumstances, that if *The New York Herald*, at the immediate instance and under the personal direction of its owner, had not sprung into the breach, the bonus raid would have gone through by default.

This fight of *The New York Herald* was begun and carried on by Mr. Munsey in the face of warnings that it meant loss of circulation for his newspaper, warnings that it entailed charges by those selfishly interested in the grab that he was unsympathetic, heartless, and even mercenary—warnings of an even uglier nature.

In spite of these warnings he took his stand against the bonus raid, and never from that day to this did he falter. He took that stand on conscience and conviction, regardless of possible sacrifice of circulation of his newspaper, regardless of any consideration except public duty, and he waged the battle unceasingly and uncompromisingly until the public, at last aroused to the iniquity of the Congress scheme, turned against it definitely and completely.

No other newspaper on either side of the great bonus controversy has waged anything like the campaign *The New York Herald* has waged against it under Mr. Munsey's immediate direction, with all his deep-seated conscience, his powerful personality and his utter disregard of mere personal or material consequences to himself, his properties, or his interests, whether newspapers or periodicals, banking or real estate, enterprise commercial or enterprise industrial, national or international.

To the writer it is interesting to note as well, and it will be of like interest to other newspaper workers who give attention to the growth and development of journalism in America, that in his bonus battle for unconditional surrender of the Treasury raiders Mr. Munsey adopted, for the first time so far as the writer knows, the telling, terrific method of iterated and reiterated slogans against the raid conspicuously displayed in editorial boxes on the first page, where they singularly commanded, seemed to compel, national attention.

The purpose of this booklet is to get across to you such facts as the foregoing, which are of uncommon moment in the world of newspaper making, of uncommon moment in this country of world history making—to get across to you the fact that *The New York Herald*, as conducted by Frank A. Munsey, has principles imbedded in rock-ribbed conviction and is willing to fight for these principles to the finish.

ERVIN WARDMAN,  
*Vice-President.*

## TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



CONGRESS is bent on a five billion dollar bonus distribution to ex-soldiers. The Government has no money with which to pay the bonus.

The Secretary of the Treasury has told Congress the Government has no money for this purpose. The Secretary of the Treasury has got to refinance six billion five hundred millions of dollars falling due within the next fifteen months. The Secretary of the Treasury will be compelled to borrow this six billion five hundred millions of dollars, and the worst of it is he doesn't know where he can get it.

And yet, in this situation, taxed well nigh to the breaking point, as you are, with a war debt of twenty-three billions of dollars, Congress now proposes to add five billions of dollars more to this debt on which interest must be paid.

The Government is your business office. The management consists of the men you have selected through your votes to run your office, to manage your affairs. This business of yours is vast, and it requires vast sums of money to keep it going. Your Government is already spending four hundred millions of dollars a year in caring for and rehabilitating wounded and disabled soldiers. Your Government is already paying out one billion of dollars a year interest on war debts. Altogether it is costing you at the present time to run your Government four billions of dollars a year—four thousand millions of dollars. This all comes out of you in taxes either direct or indirect. The only way the Government can get money is by chiseling it out of you.

The duty on imported goods is added to the selling price of the goods you buy and so becomes a tax on you. Internal revenues are a tax on you. The fact is that there is no other source from which your Government gets any money of any consequence, or can get any money of any consequence, except



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## *The Herald's First Broadside*

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from you. It cannot burglarize it out of other countries. No more can it burglarize it out of the planet Mars or lure it from the skies.

The money you get comes from the fields, the forest, the mines and from your toil, and you give up to your Government some part of every dollar you get in order that you may have a Government to handle your interests.

Congress does not dig down into its own pocket for the money the Government must have to pay its bills. If Congress did have to dig down into its own pocket to find the money for the soldier bonus the soldiers would never see a cent. Nothing short of a jimmy could get a cent out of Congress. But checking out your money is easy; checking out your money in billions of dollars, for something on the side, is a thrilling business for Congress.

Checking out your money, however, for legitimate purposes; checking out your money for the necessities of the Government; checking out your money for the maintenance of law and order and for upholding America's position among the nations of the world is strictly all right if done conscientiously and with intelligence.

But checking out your money for something that should have none of your money; checking out your money for personal political advantage; checking out your money with eyes fixed on the ballot box, writes a Congress down as unfit for its job.

The disheartening thing in governments is the chameleon nature of politician-statesmen. In the campaign for election, with alluring promises they beg you to take them on in your service; installed in your service they give you the lash of the master. In the campaign for election they beseech you for a job; installed in that job they tell you where you get off.

It is the ballot box that is goading Congress on to pass the bonus bill. Congress knows that in the large majority you have no patience with any measure committing the Government to further war obligations. But, in spite of this fact, the leaders in Congress have set their jaws to the task of jamming through

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### *Congress Does Not Pay the Bonus*

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## *The Herald's First Broadside*

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the bonus bill, and in spite, too, of the further fact that there is not a cent of money in the strong box of the Government with which to meet it.

When vote hunting in Congress takes on this desperate phase, when vote hunting in Congress supersedes intelligence, faithful service, and patriotic statesmanship, it is high time for America to recognize the forces that are shaping for new and honest issues between political organizations.

With issues of impelling interest, issues that embody principles, issues that challenge convictions in the place of the artificial issues of politician-statesmen such as now divide the two great parties, Congress will have no need to play politics and no need to conjure up fetiches on which to bid for your vote.

The soldier bonus, as a bid for votes in the coming election, is the most flagrant and the most wicked assault on your pocket-book ever yet made in Congress.

Do you know what this bonus commitment would let you in for? Let us see: It took the Government, roughly, half a century to pay its Civil War debt of two billion six hundred millions of dollars. We have now a war debt of twenty-three billions of dollars. Add this soldier bonus commitment to the present debt and ask yourself when the Government will get the last cent paid. If it takes one hundred years to clean the slate, and it might take even longer, this soldier bonus alone, treated as a part of the whole, would amount, roughly, principal and interest, to twenty billions of dollars.

This, Mr. Citizen, is some problem. If you can't beat the bonus in Congress, you can beat the Congress at the polls that jams it through. This is your remedy.



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*You Can Beat the Congress That Jams Bonus Through*

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## HELP THE BROKEN AND DISABLED SOLDIERS




DOING for broken and disabled soldiers has the spontaneity of the heart and shows right instinct, right action on the part of the people; paying horizontal bonuses to all soldiers, injured and well alike, is entirely a different matter. The one is human; the other has no justification.

Protecting his country is the young man's birthright. Protecting his country is the young man's opportunity for paying the price of citizenship. Protecting his country is the young man's opportunity to win the love and applause of his fellow men.

Doing his duty calls for no bonus. Accepting a bonus, sound of limb and well of body, robs him of the dignity of his position, robs him of the standing of true citizenship. Accepting a bonus for exercising his right of citizenship degrades him in his own heart, degrades him with all those who have an appreciation of the fitness of things.

## SOLDIERING IS THE YOUNG MAN'S JOB

HE American Government cannot well go too far in caring for our disabled soldiers, the sick, the crippled and the incapacitated. The heart of America goes out to all these and demands succor and the most humane solicitude and care for them.

But a horizontal bonus to all soldiers, sick or well, rich or poor, is wholly another matter. It cannot be justified because it is not sound, cannot be justified because it is not right.

The price of citizenship to the young man is the protection of his country. Soldiering is his job. It is not the job of his mother, his father or his sister. Soldiering is the job of the young man, and in this capacity he has play for the patriotism that is his birthright and that justifies his citizenship. Doing his duty calls for no bonus.

TO THE  
AMERICAN  
PEOPLE



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Do you know what this bonus commitment would let you in for? Let us see: It took the Government, roughly, half a century to pay its Civil War debt of two billions, six hundred millions of dollars.

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If it takes one hundred years to clean the slate, and it might take even longer, this soldier bonus alone, treated as a part of the whole, would amount, roughly, principal and interest, to twenty billions of dollars.

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*Principal and Interest—20 Billion Dollars*

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## THE SICKENING FACT ABOUT THIS BONUS LEGISLATION



HERE are some men in Congress who are conscientious in their stand for the soldier bonus. They are relatively few. THE NEW YORK HERALD respects them as it always respects men who stand for and fight for the thing they believe in.

The sickening fact about this bonus legislation is that an overwhelming percentage of the men in Congress openly for the bonus are secretly opposed to the bonus. In private conversation they declare themselves against it; in public utterance they declare themselves for it.

One Congressman recently went so far as to say that if a poll of Congress were taken behind closed doors it would show that more than 80 per cent. of Congress was against the bonus. Pressed as to his own stand he said he was emphatically against the bonus, but if the measure were put to a vote he would vote for it.

And this is your Congress, Mr. Citizen—your representatives who are checking out your money for their own political gain.

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## The Most Active Promoter of the Bonus

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Representative Joseph W. Fordney  
Eighth District of Michigan  
*Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee*

### WHY FORDNEY?



THE MOST active promoter in Congress of the bonus raid is JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, Representative of the Eighth district of Michigan for the last twenty-two years. Through the operation of the antiquated seniority rule in Congress Representative FORDNEY is the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives.

American citizens feel justified in expecting the head of the most important committee on economic matters in Congress to apply his ability and influence to developing adequate sources of revenues for the maintenance of the Government and pro-

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*His Job Should be Saving Money—Not Wasting It*

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## Recognized Leader of a Noisy Minority

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teeting the interests of all the citizens that live under it. His job is, or should be, that of raising money as well as saving it, and not wasting it.

In the present financial and economic condition of the country a conscientious and capable chairman of the Ways and Means Committee could render services of tremendous value to the people of the country in respect of this problem. Mr. FORDNEY is not doing so. He is the recognized leader of a small but efficiently organized and very noisy minority of citizens who are supporting the bonus raid on the Treasury of the Government and the business of the country. He appears to be less concerned with his legitimate functions of raising and saving money for the Government than with scattering it among the prospective recipients of the bonus raid.

In doing this the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee is running true to legislative form. His record in the House of Representatives has blazed a consistent trail of failure. Although he is serving his twelfth continuous term there is not one really important piece of constructive legislation to his credit. He has probably caused more embarrassment to the Harding Administration and provoked more dissatisfaction among the Republican leaders of the country than any other ten men in the House and Senate.

FORDNEY was once described by a keen political observer as "a babbler who does not know what it is all about," meaning the science and common sense of both Congress undertakings and party policies. He is given to extravagant statements, always "playing to the galleries," scoffing at and ignoring opinions opposed to his own.

His lack of tact and his unintelligent grasp of legislative projects are deplored by his own associates on the Ways and Means Committee. His emergency tariff measure, designed to alleviate depressing agricultural conditions, has been a miserable failure. After six months of operation the farmer is just as discontented as he was before the passage of Mr. FORDNEY's bill.

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*"A Babbling Who Does Not Know What it is All About"*

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## *"A Narrow Gauged Partisan of Small Caliber"*

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The American valuation plan sponsored by Mr. FORDNEY has been completely rewritten by the Senate Finance Committee. It is doubtful if any of his ideas on the subject will be accepted.

The one business the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee should know most about is lumber. He has been engaged in it all his life and has made money out of it. Yet the lumber schedule, personally framed by Mr. FORDNEY, was rejected out of hand by his associates on the committee, in which action they were supported by the House itself.

Intelligent leaders of the Republican party who correctly appraise the disastrous effects of the blunders committed by Mr. FORDNEY regard him as "a narrow gauged partisan of small caliber," obtuse and thickheaded. Adherence to the seniority rule alone prevented them from selecting for Ways and Means chairman a man better fitted by business experience, temperament, study and sense of party obligations for that important job.

Mr. FORDNEY has been the most persistent advocate of the bonus raid from the inception of the professional propaganda which has for its object the trading of votes of Congressmen for votes for Congressmen.

He is credited with having personally prepared the so-called "five way plan" which, if adopted, will cost the citizens of the country five thousand millions of dollars in the form of gratuities demanded by a small number of well organized ex-service men, but opposed by the overwhelming majority of the American people, including the real victims of the world war—the wounded, sick and helpless ex-soldiers.

Why FORDNEY?

### **Fordney Goes**

REPRESENTATIVE FORDNEY, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and father of the strange progeny, the Fordney tariff, the Fordney valuation plan and the Fordney bonus bill, has announced that he will quit Congress after this term to give his whole attention to his lumber business.

The Joseph W. Fordney lumber business's gain will not be the country's loss.

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*Seniority Rule Alone Made Him "Ways and Means" Chairman*

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Senator Porter J. McCumber  
of North Dakota

## McCUMBER SEES A LIGHT



PORTER J. McCUMBER, United States Senator from North Dakota, went some distance in self-appointed dictatorship when he resolved to pass his bonus bill in the face of the disapproval and contempt of the American people.

Senator McCUMBER went a great deal further when he set out to jam his bonus bill through against the will of the best statesmanship and soundest character represented in the United States Senate.

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*Would Jam Bonus Bill Through Against Will of Citizens*

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And Senator McCUMBER went 'way beyond the limit when in his frenzy he threatened to bludgeon his bonus bill through against the opposition of the American people, the responsible Republican membership of the Senate and the President of the United States.

In that state of mind Senator McCUMBER seemed to think he had become the whole United States Government and American nation, and he then decided to sidetrack the tariff for the bonus. But if he hasn't come to his senses, at least he has been brought up with a round turn.

Anyhow, after shifting his gaze from his own imagined grandeur to the attitude of the majority control standing with the President of the United States in this matter, he has decided he will not give his bonus bill the right of way over all other legislation on the calender. The Senate, in sympathy and co-operation with the President, will be permitted to dispose of its business in its own way.

So the Senate will go on with consideration of the tariff bill, which McCUMBER had decreed must be brushed aside for the bonus bill. And perhaps, after the tariff bill has been disposed of, Senator McCUMBER will make still another appraisal of his self-constituted autocracy and discover that, even when his bonus bill does come up for action, legislative and executive, neither he nor it is bigger than both branches of Congress, the President of the United States and the country.

### McCumber Defeated

Since this editorial was first published Senator McCUMBER has experienced the humiliation of defeat by LYNN J. FRAZIER, former non-partisan, in the North Dakota Republican Primaries. McCUMBER will not return to the Senate. Senator McCUMBER, in explaining his defeat, puts it on the ground, in the last analysis, that he did not get the votes. That's it. He did not get the Bonus votes he bargained for. His is the sad story, the miserable story, of bartering one's political birthright for a mess of pottage, and not even getting the pottage.

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### *But McCumber Was Not Re-Nominated*

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## Miss Robertson Exhibits Stanch Moral Courage

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Representative Alice Robertson  
of Oklahoma  
*The Only Woman Member of Congress*

### MISS ROBERTSON'S COURAGE



THE ONLY woman member of Congress, Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON, of Oklahoma, has exhibited stanch moral courage in her attitude toward the bonus raid. Long before the nationwide revolt against the bonus had attained its present momentum Miss ROBERTSON, in a public statement, put herself on record as flatly opposed to it and announced her intention of voting against it.

Representative ROBERTSON did not wait to find out whether her course would be popular in her district. She analyzed the

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*Her Conscience Rejected the Bonus Proposal*

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## *A Warm Friend of the Man in Uniform*

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bonus proposal, her intelligence and her conscience rejected it, and she told her constituents exactly what she thought of it.

From the moment of our entrance into the war Miss ROBERTSON's stanch American patriotism and her womanly sympathies for the men who were to expose their lives for their country were aroused. In all Oklahoma the man in the uniform of the United States had no warmer friend than the present Representative from the Second district of that State. She had no thought of being a member of Congress then. She was running a large restaurant which took all her time, and one of the first war orders she issued in her establishment was that every service man was to have his meals served there free of cost.

Since the war and since her election to Congress her interest in the service men has not for an instant abated. One of her first acts on reaching Washington was to appoint a service man as her secretary. Miss ROBERTSON's acquaintance with service men has been such as to give her a good knowledge of their dispositions, and she is not deceived by the noise a few are making in the effort to convince Congress all of them want the bonus.

Like the majority of other Americans, Miss ROBERTSON's respect for the American soldier was shocked at the implication that he wanted a cash tip for answering his country's call to defend it from a foreign enemy. No vote of hers, she resolved, should ever expose him to so humiliating a suggestion. She has been careful at all times not to confuse the statement of her position on the bonus question with any qualification. She was opposed to the bonus, she would not vote for it, and she said so. When others might seek smoke screens she stood right out in the open and spoke her mind.

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### *Humiliated by the Suggestion of a Cash Tip*

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Senator George Wharton Pepper  
of Pennsylvania

## PEPPER AND THE BONUS LOOTERS

**T**HE BONUS bludgeon is being aimed directly at the head of GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator in Pennsylvania. This able and courageous citizen of the Keystone State has affronted the bonus claimants by opposing their audacious raid on the United States Treasury. Wherefore the bonus raiders have arrogantly demanded his defeat by the men and women who will vote in the Pennsylvania primaries.

Here is the declaration of principles of the American Legion touching on political activities:

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*Opposes Raid on United States Treasury*

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## *A Prophecy and its Fulfillment*

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"The organization shall be non-political and, as an organization, shall not promote the candidacy of any person seeking public office."

In view of the insistent and impudent demands on Congress for the bonus loot; in view of the nation-wide pressure on men in political and public life to support the demands for the bonus; in view of the specific and concentrated attack on Senator PEPPER, of Pennsylvania, because of his conscientious and honorable opposition to the bonus, the bonus propagandists of the American Legion have prostituted the high purposes of that organization to the plane of sheer greed and selfishness, and in the delirium of this greed and selfishness they stop at nothing in their raid on the Treasury.

But in spite of the bludgeoning tactics of these insistent propagandists THE NEW YORK HERALD confidently believes that the serious, sound thinking people of WILLIAM PENN'S great State will stand in solid phalanx on primary day for that fine, clean, able son of old Pennsylvania, a gentleman, a scholar, a clear thinker, a man of courage, distinguished lineage and patriotic purpose, GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, than whom no State in the Union has sent a better man to the United States Senate in many years.

### *Some Light on Bonus Bogey*

Since this editorial was first published Senator Pepper has been renominated by the Republican party to succeed himself as Senator from Pennsylvania.

Representative William J. Burke, the rival of Mr. Pepper, voted for the bonus and was supported by officials of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars and such members of those organizations as are demanding the bonus.

Senator Pepper was nominated in spite of the opposition of the bonus claimants by a majority of more than 200,000 votes.

Mr. Burke, who voted for the bonus and was supported by the bonus claimants, was defeated by more than 200,000 votes.

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### *Pepper Defeats His Bonus Rival*

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Senator William E. Borah  
of Idaho

## SENATOR BORAH ON THE BONUS



SENATOR BORAH's speech on the soldier bonus was typical of the Idaho statesman. He is never an opportunist, never a slave to party expediency, never a demagogue. He long has had the reputation of being the finest orator in Congress. But what is far more important is that he is the boldest and bravest man in Congress.

Mr. BORAH took hold of the bonus question—the great legislative mistake which Congress has seemed on the brink of making—with bare, rough hands. He tore a hole in its false

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## *Wrenches Mask of Words from the Sham*

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front and showed its real face. When Senator JONES, of New Mexico, tried to get BORAH to accept the phrase "adjusted compensation" instead of "bonus" or "gratuity," BORAH wrenched the mask of words from the sham. Adjusted to what? To the standard of a stable boy's or charwoman's wages? No, it would be an insult if offered as compensation; it must, if anything, be a gift.

And if a gift, how can the country afford to give it? How can a Government already burdened with a debt of twenty-four billions afford to go deeper in the hole?

Senator BORAH struck his most telling blow when he brought up the matter of the disabled soldiers and sailors. It is now costing the United States half a billion dollars a year to care for these men. As Mr. BORAH said, nobody will complain of this expenditure so long as the appropriations are based on the necessities and requirements of the disabled veterans. There will be no complaint if it becomes necessary, as Mr. BORAH predicts, to spend a billion and a half a year on these men ten years from now.

But the care of the disabled soldiers and sailors is now costing the United States as much as the total expenses of the Government twenty years ago. This care of men who were incapacitated in their country's service cannot be lessened. Even if the total cost is seventy-five billions in the next forty or fifty years it must be paid. There is a great moral obligation of a nation to men who can no longer help themselves. There can be no shirking and no skimping. BORAH showed his feeling in regard to the helpless veterans when he declared that the Government is not doing enough by them, even when it is spending half a billion a year for their relief.

If we are not doing enough now for the disabled men, how are we going to do any more when a bonus law begins to pour between three and six billion dollars into the pockets of men who emerged from the war unscathed and, most of them, in

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## *Deep Feeling for Wounded Veterans*

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## Bonus Likely to Cheapen Care of Injured

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better physical trim than when they were enlisted? When Congress, which is now made frantic by the bonus hunters, turns even more frantically a year hence to reduce expenses, which soldier will be the subject of economy?

Will it be the recipient of a bonus, the man with a vote?

Or will it be the disabled soldier, perhaps the insane soldier?

If Congress acts in that day as it is acting now it will be the disabled soldier whose care will be cheapened in order that the bonus man may not be angered.

The duty of the unscathed soldier is as plain as that of any other able bodied citizen. He should help his country, not hinder it. "If we engage in this proposition of distributing public money," said Senator BORAH—and the warning ought to be heeded by every service man—"it will grow worse for him as well as for his fellow citizens. It will become a competition, as in Europe, of one class invading the Treasury one day and another class invading the Treasury the next day. The hour of sacrifice is now."

Yes, the hour is now! And let those members of Congress who see in the bonus a way of buying votes with the public's money take heed of the hour! They cannot plead that they did not understand what they were doing. WILLIAM E. BORAH, in his great speech in the United States Senate on Monday, pointed the way of truth and duty.

### The Remedy

*If the protest of the American people cannot beat the bonus in Congress the votes of the American people can beat the Congress that jams it through.—Front page editorial.*

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*"The Hour of Sacrifice is Now!"*

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Senator George H. Moses  
of New Hampshire

## OUT IN THE OPEN FOR THE RIGHT

**T**HE KIND of man who shines in public life as in private life is not the man who shakes in his boots at threats; not the man who cannot change from an unsound course to a sound course in the face of abusive criticism. He is the man who fears to be wrong more than he fears criticism and who dares to correct his mistaken attitude so as to be right.

Such a man is Senator MOSES, of New Hampshire, who stood up in the United States Senate and announced that although

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## *Example for Senator Calder of New York to Follow*

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he had committed himself to support the bonus measure he must give notice to those to whom his promise had been made that he could not now go forward with it. This is splendid, it is the real stuff, and is an example for men like Senator CALDER, of New York, and Senator FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey, to follow.

It is a great thing to be first in doing the thing one should do, however awkward it is. It may be easier for the other fellow to follow, but he will have no distinction. Bearing on the thing Senator MOSES has done, THE NEW YORK HERALD has said:

“The man who has it in him to acknowledge he has made a mistake has courage; the man who comes to know he has made a mistake and hasn’t it in him to put himself right is a poor thing.”

Senator CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, is the kind of man who merits and receives the admiration of political supporter and political opponent alike. Senator GLASS, never for the bonus measure and with nothing to daunt him in the performance of his duty to vote against it, answers a brow-beating constituent in his State that he was not sent to the Senate to be a sounding board for any particular group.

Senator MOSES, of New Hampshire, is a Republican. Senator GLASS, of Virginia, is a Democrat. And in these two examples of rugged courage and fine loyalty to principle who dare all to be right and fear nothing but to go wrong, the country beholds the lasting truth that in the minds of big timbered public officials patriotic duty cannot be tied to a partisan hitching post.

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## *Senator Glass Answers Brow-beating Constituent*

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## Passing the Buck to Your Children and Your Children's Children



AFFLED at every turn in their frenzy to put over the bonus, McCumber and his followers are now by way of getting back of the miserable makeshift bonus scheme, paid up insurance. This means passing the buck to your children and to your children's children—means the burden of paying the bonus will fall on them long after the men of this generation have passed on. Is this the kind of legacy the American fathers and mothers wish passed on to their children?

## The Lash of The Master

It is the ballot box that is goading Congress on to pass the bonus bill. The leaders in Congress have set their jaws to the task of jamming through the bonus bill, and in spite, too, of the fact that there is not a cent of money in the strong box of the Government with which to meet it.

The disheartening thing in governments is the chameleon nature of politician-statesmen. In the campaign for election, with alluring promises they beg you to take them on in your service; installed in your service they give you the lash of the master. In the campaign for election they beseech you for a job; installed in that job they tell you where you get off.

## Bulling the Bonus Through



R. MELLON, Secretary of the Treasury, sent to Chairman Fordney of the Ways and Means Committee on Saturday a long and carefully worked out statement showing the financial burdens of the country and pointing out what it will mean to the country in additional burdens if the Fordney bonus bill is passed.

It was a masterful document, clear and convincing, in which Secretary Mellon left no room for doubt that the passage of this bonus bill would be a national calamity.

Chairman Fordney notwithstanding treats this statement of the Secretary of the Treasury with cold contempt, and with sheer bravado says he will jam his bonus bill through in spite of what Mellon says, commenting that the Treasury Department doesn't know what it is talking about.

The arrogance of these Republican bonus Congressmen in view of the fact that the Republican party is not committed to the bonus is beyond all exhibits of the kind in the history of national legislation and national politics.

### Mr. Citizen!

The soldier bonus, as a bid for votes in the coming election, is the most flagrant and the most wicked assault on your pocketbook ever yet made in Congress.

If Congress had to dig down into its own pocket to find the money for the soldier bonus the soldiers would never see a cent. Nothing short of a jimmy could get a cent out of Congress.

## The Boomerang Bonus



CONGRESSMEN who have lined up for the bonus to save their own political scalps, looting the Treasury to save their own political scalps, now find the bonus a boomerang.

This is what has happened in the Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania primaries. Six bonus Congressmen were turned down hard in Pennsylvania Tuesday. One of these, William J. Burke, a candidate for the United States Senate, was buried by a majority of more than 200,000 in favor of Senator Pepper, a red hot fighting opponent of the bonus.

The fact is the American people have no use for the Congressman who sells them out to satisfy his own political greed.

## Going On with the Loot Because They Promised the Loot

Bitterly scored by press and public for their bonus Treasury raiding, the bonus Congressmen urge in defense of themselves the fact that they made pre-election promises to their soldier constituents to put through a bonus bill.

What right have these politician-statesmen to promise to check out your money, Mr. Citizen, for their own political advantage, their own political greed? Recourse to pre-election promises in this bonus looting is a cowardly business.

The man who has it in him to acknowledge he has made a mistake has courage; the man who comes to know he has made a mistake and hasn't it in him to acknowledge he has made a mistake and to put himself right is a poor thing.

## Watering the American Dollar



**B**AFFLED on every hand in its struggles to find the money for the bonus, the shifty Ways and Means Committee now proposes in its desperation to water the American dollar.

Its latest plan to chisel five billions of dollars out of the people for the bonus is to have the Government issue its promissory notes to the soldiers, with a provision compelling the national banks of the country to make loans to soldiers for a period of three years on these notes of eighty-five cents on the dollar.

This is nothing short of economic idiocy. The banks have no available funds for such loans. The printing press alone can furnish the banks with the money, and printing press money is watered money, and every thousand millions of printing press money thrown in with the good money waters all the money—waters your money, Mr. Citizen, and cuts down its buying power, the buying power of your dollar.

This is politics, Mr. Citizen, raw politics—a desperate raid on your pocket for personal political gain.

## The Shriek of the Purist

For two or three years the purists in Congress have viewed with horror the alleged expenditures made by Senator Newberry from his own purse—from his own purse, mind you—to secure his nomination for the United States Senate. To-day many of these same men—these same purists, mind you—who denounced Newberry in bitterest and most seathing terms, are themselves out for the purchase of votes, but this time not with their own money but with your money, Mr. Citizen. This is what jamming through the bonus bill means, stated in cold facts.

## THE BONUS EXPRESSED IN SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS



STARTLING idea of what it is that Congress wants to do to the money of the American people with its proposed bonus of five billions of dollars can be gathered from a comparison of that colossal sum with the savings bank deposits of the people of the country.

In the mutual savings banks of the country (the ordinary type of savings bank, such as the Bowery, the Emigrant and the other savings institutions with which New York is familiar) there are 9,455,327 depositors with savings to their credit of \$5,186,845,000.

The money which Congress wants to draw out of the people through the national Treasury for bonus purposes, in other words, is just about equal to all that is represented in the life savings of 9,445,000 depositors in these savings banks.

These savings bank deposits of \$5,186,845,000, which are the results of the self-denial and frugal care through the years, decades and generations of the nine and a half million depositors, are the provision made by them, in fact, for their families, numbering by the United States census statistics some 40,000,000 souls, men, women and children. And what this represents to those 40,000,000 souls is what Congress proposes to vote out of the people as a soldier bonus.

What do the American people think of a Congress proposition which amounts in its money totals to stripping these 9,445,000 depositors in the savings banks and their 40,000,000 dependents bare of all their life savings of \$5,186,845,000?



## THE GOVERNMENT IS RICH; LET THE GOVERNMENT PAY



THE LETTERS contending for the bonus that we have received from ex-service men since THE NEW YORK HERALD began its protest against Congress passing a bonus bill, reveal a point of view which in a measure accounts for their insistence on receiving a bonus from the Government.

The Government is rich, the Government has most of the gold in the world; let the Government pay. This is the central idea running through the bulk of these letters. It is this idea of the Government's wealth, this idea of the Government's ability to pay the bonus without the slightest difficulty that, apparently, has much to do with the attitude of the soldiers who are still contending for a bonus.

In this exaggerated idea of the Government's immeasurable wealth and ability to pay, the soldiers who demand the bonus do not differ widely from the generally lax attitude of the American people to-day. The fact is every one seems to have lost all sense of proportion. Money no longer means anything. It is checked out and chipped out and shoveled out as if it had no more value than the sands of the sea.

Prices of everything are grotesque. The cost of having anything repaired is prohibitive. Restaurant charges, hotel charges, amusement charges, no longer have any adequate relation to the cost of money measured in honest toil and the sweat of the brow.

This is all highly artificial, wholly unsound and it cannot go on for long without wrecking the country. There is a point beyond which no business can go in the matter of its indebtedness without collapse; there is a point beyond which no Government can go in the matter of its indebtedness without collapse unless it squeeze the life blood out of its people in tax tribute to keep it going. Business having no such resource goes down.

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## *Abnormal Viewpoint About Profligate Spending*

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If a business is paying out a million dollars a year in interest on its debts and is earning only a million dollars it is just breaking even, no more. If a business has allowed its indebtedness so to increase that the interest charges on this indebtedness are a million and a quarter of dollars, or a million and a half of dollars, and its income is only a million dollars the business is doomed.

With the income of a business just a little larger than its interest payments, it is by way of digging itself out from under its burdens; with its income less than its interest charges the end is in sight. This holds equally true with Governments as with individuals and corporations.

If the Government gets out of the people four billions of dollars in taxes, and pays out for expenses of running the Government and for interest on its indebtedness four billions of dollars it is barely holding its own. This is the condition of the United States Government to-day. If the Government adds five billions of dollars more to the twenty-three billions of dollars it already owes and doesn't chisel any money out of the people to swell its income, it will be on the skids headed for financial collapse.

In the opinion of THE NEW YORK HERALD it is this abnormal viewpoint of the country with regard to money values, with regard to profligate spending, with regard to an worthwhile appreciation of sound economies, sound thrift, that accounts for the attitude of ex-service men still contending for the bonus who feel that the Government, owning, as they see it, well nigh all the gold in the world, can just as well as not give them a gratuity of extra pay for their war services.

It is the belief of THE NEW YORK HERALD that if this unnatural, unsound, reckless viewpoint did not obtain generally throughout the country, our soldiers would hold a more wholesome view concerning the bonus—the soldiers, we mean, who are still contending for the bonus.

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*Government Finance will be on the Skids*

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## POOR SENATORS AGAINST THE BONUS



SENATOR LADD, of North Dakota, who wants to give to the bonus grabbers all they demand, wants to give it to them right away and wants to give it to them in printing-press money, says:

"It is my belief that most of this opposition to the soldiers compensation has been fathered by the big banks."

It will be news to the conscientious patriotic and fearless Senator BORAH, of Idaho, that he is influenced or could be influenced by the "big banks" of Wall Street or any other part of the country. It will be news to him that financial interests of any kind or of any locality have the slightest relations or the faintest sympathy with his always boldly independent course. And Senator BORAH, a poor man, serving his country in Congress at heavy personal sacrifice, is a powerful and irreconcilable opponent of the whole vicious bonus scheme.

Another man, Senator WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, with no financial contacts, delivered in the Senate only three days ago a burning indictment of the bonus hunters and of the political bidders for the votes of the bonus hunters. Senator WILLIAMS also is a poor man, compelled after years of work in public office to withdraw from the Senate because of the financial burdens his distinguished career has put upon him. And he is going to fight the bonus grab every inch of the way to the last day he remains in the Senate.

Again, a poor man from Minnesota, Senator NELSON, who himself was a soldier in the civil war, has been, is, and, so long as he stays in the Senate, will be a conspicuous leader on the firing line against the bonus raid on the national Treasury.

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## Senator Glass is not a Rich Man

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The same thing is true of Senator GLASS, not a rich man; of Senator SWANSON, not a rich man; of Senator KING, not a rich man; of Senator SHIELDS, not a rich man; of many others, Republicans and Democrats, not rich men.

There are Senators with large fortunes for the bonus, like CAPPER, as there are Senators with fortunes against the bonus, like COLT, but the rich man count is no more noteworthy than the poor man count, the one way or the other.

Senator LADD, who knows this, cannot honestly believe that a full purse or a slim purse in the pocket of a member of Congress has anything to do with his alignment for or against the bonus iniquity. And Senator LADD, who knows how the members of the Senate stand on the bonus, for and against, cannot honestly believe that influence from the financial centers exerts any more or any less force in stimulating bonus opposition by poor Senators than it exerts in controlling bonus support by millionaire Senators.

What does inspire and invigorate the splendid opposition shown in the Senate to the bonus raid is the high sense of public duty and the American scorn for threatening bludgeons. What, on the other hand, is responsible for the main Congress support of the bonus raid by rich members or by poor members is greed for votes that can be won with drafts on the public Treasury and, as the rugged Senator WILLIAMS said in his lofty speech against the bonus hunters and against the bonus legislators, political cowardice.

### The Betrayal

*The most disturbing thing in connection with the proposed bonus loot of the Treasury is the duplicity of Congress. Staggering as it would be to the country to shoulder an additional war debt of five billions of dollars for bonus payments, the debt in itself would mean far less to the country than the fact that it had been sold out and by its own men for their political gain.*


*—Front page editorial.*

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## Senator King is not a Rich Man

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## A BONUS TIEUP

ONUS politicians in Congress, both the McCumber brand in the Senate and the Fordney-Mondell brand in the House, are in a panic over the definite official and final notice they now expect from President HARDING that a sales tax to get out of the public the five billions of dollars needed to pay the bonus is the one plan the Chief Executive of the United States would accept.

At the same time the Treasury raiders in Congress, trying to put over the stupendous grab for their own political advantage in the coming elections, frankly acknowledge that the sales tax is the one plan the agricultural representatives in the Senate and in the House will not accept.

If the McCumbers, Fordneys and Mondells were to prepare a bonus measure with the sales tax to finance it they know they would have to fight the very element in Congress on which they have been relying to jam the bonus bill through. And they do not fool themselves that they could successfully fight it.

If, on the other hand, the McCumbers, Fordneys and Mondells were to try to jam through a bonus measure without the sales tax to finance it, they realize they would have to fight the President's friends and supporters in Congress. And they know these Harding followers could be as strong for the President as the agricultural members are strong against the sales tax.

This stubborn alignment of forces, irreeconcilable on the one side as against the bonus without the sales tax and irreconcilable on the other side as against the sales tax with the bonus, presages that the bonus grab may soon be discovered wedged between the devil and the deep blue sea. The American people who do not like the public burden that would be piled on them by the bonus, do not countenance the high handedness of and cannot tolerate the morals of the bonus, will agree that there is the place for it to stick.

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*—and There is the Place for it to Stick*

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